A very briefe and profi-table *Treatiſe declaring* hovve many counſells, and vvhat maner of Counſelers a Prince that will gouerne well ought to haue.

The Booke ſpeaketh.

All you that Honors would atcheeue,
And Counſlers eke deſire to bee,
Of ſelfe loue flee the falſe beleeue,
And learne my lore that you may ſee
What worthyneſſe in you doth reygne,
Such worthy ſtate thereby tatteyne.

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Firmo Appoggio.

15 70

To the ryght Noble *Erle of Leycester, one of* hir highnesse most Honorable, wise, and graue Counselers.

FOR LACK OF BETter habilitie, I am bolde after my olde wonte, to preſẽt your Honor with Inke and Paper, more to doe my bounde dutie in ſhewing my ſelfe thankfull towardes you, for your great benifites beſtowed on mee: than for any profite or pleaſure, that I know your Honor can reape any waye of my rude wryting. And yet amongſt al the tryfles that euer I wrote, there was none in mine opinion that ought to pleaſe you better than this little Treatiſe, repreſenting vnto you as it were in a glaſſe, manye of thoſe good vertues and qualities that do raigne in you, & ought to raigne in euery other good counſeler. Which Treatiſe was firſt written in the Spaniſhe tongue by a Spanyard called FEDERIGO FVRIO, and afterward trãſlated into the Italian tongue by

another Spanyard called ALFONSO D'VLLOA, but not with ſo good grace as I beleeue it had in the Spaniſhe, which in deede I neuer ſawe, and therefore though my very friend Mayſter Iohn Baptiſt Caſtiglion one of the Gromes of hir Highneſſe priuie chamber, vpō good zeale he had to profite many, deliuered me the ſaide booke at my laſt being at the Court, earneſtly requeſting me to put the ſame into our vulgar tong, yet I would not altogither trāſlate it, but thought it beſt to make a briefe collection of the ſubſtance thereof, cutting of all ſuperfluous talke, and yet leauing nothing out (I truſt) that was neceſſary to be ſpoken. But howſoeuer it be I moſt humbly beſeech your Honor to take it well in worth, and in perуſing the ſame to conceyue of my labour beſtowed therin, with that fauourable iudgement, which you haue alwayes vſed towardes mee, in all my other doings, and therwith to continue ſtill my good Lord, euen as I think my ſelfe bounde to continue your faythfull ſeruant. Thus leauing to trouble your Honor any further: I pray God to graunt you helth & long lyfe, with much proſperitie. From Newton Flotman the firſt of Aprill. 1570.

Moſt bounde to your Honor

Thomas Blundeuill.

With what order and *methode the Inſtitution* of a Prince ought to be written.

HO ſo vvill write the Inſtitution of a Prince, ought to deuide hys vvorke into fiue partes. The firſt vvhereof vvould containe three Bookes, and the firſt Booke muſt shevv vvhat a Prince is, hovv he vvas firſt ordained, & to vvhat ende, vvhat povver hee hath, vvho gaue it him, & vvho may take it from him. The ſecond booke muſte declare vvhat Artes and Sciẽces are required in a Prince that vvill gouerne vvell. The

thirde booke muſt shewe vvhat morall vertues a Prince should haue, and hovv to vſe them.

2 The ſeconde part muſt treate of the Princes education, of his Schoolemayſters, gouernours, ſeruantes, friendes and louers, of his houſe and houſeholde: and therefore as the Phiſitians doe deuide mannes lyfe into ſeauen ages or times, ſo this part would be likevviſe deuided into ſeauen bookes, the firſt treating of the Princes infancie, the ſeconde of his childehood, and all the reaſt of hys other ages or times.

3 The thirde part vvoulde contayne three Bookes, the one vvhereof muſt shevve the dutie of the ſubiect in euerye poynt tovvardes the Prince, and the other,

ther, the dutye of the Prince to-vvards the ſubiect: vvhereby it shall plainely appeare, vvho is a Traytour, and vvho is a fayth-full ſubiect, and alſo vvho is a iuſt Prince, & vvho is a tyrant.

The fourth part vvould shevv hovve a Prince ought to rule and raigne, ſo as he may eſcape and ouercome all diffycultes that may chaunce any maner of vvaye, vvhich are not eaſily knovvne, by cauſe they are di-uers, according to the diuerſitie of the kingdome, or principali-tie: vvhich is gotten & poſſeſ-ſed by one of theſe foure waies: That is, either by inheritaunce, by election, by forcyble con-queſt, or elſe by pollicye: it is requiſite therefore that this part

4

be

be deuided into foure Bookes, euery one treating of ech of the ſayde kindes of poſſeſsion.

5 Finallye, bicauſe the Prince can not heare all, ſee all, knovve all, and prouide for all, alone of himſelfe: the fift part therefore ought to treate of the councell, and counſelers of a Prince teaching him hovve to make hys counſell, and vvhat maner of counſelers to chooſe, of vvhich part mine Auctthor aboute nine yeares paſt tooke vppon him to vvrite, deuiding the ſayde part into eyght bookes: but as yet he neuer ſet forth more (that I knovve) than the fyrſt Booke, the effect vvhereof hereafter folovvith.

and Counſelers.

VVhat a counſell is, and hovv many counſells a Prince ought to haue.

A Counſell is an aſſembly of vviſe and diſcreete perſons choſen by the Prince to counſell him in all his affayres, both of peace and vvarre, in ſuch ſort as he by their helpe maye gouerne hys Realme vviſelye, and foreſee all daungers that may betyde, ſo as in all his doings and enterpriſes, he maye haue good ſucceſſe, or at the leaſt, as little euill ſucceſſe, and as ſeldome as maye bee. And though that the Counſell and the Prince maketh in deede but

one entyere thing, in that it hath but one heade vvhich is the Prince, yet it is neceſſarye that the ſaide counſell be deuided into manye partes, vvhich though they haue dyuers offices, yet they ſhall make but one body, no more than the ſeuerall partes of mannes bodye, ſeruing to dyuers purpoſes. VVherefore it is meete, firſt to shevve hovve manye ſeuerall counſells a Prince that vvil gouerne vvel ought to haue. And than to euerye one of thoſe counſells, hovv many counſelers, hovv manye Preſydents, hovv manye Secretaries, and hovv many Clarkes be needefull, and alſo vvhat qualities be requyred in thoſe men, that they

they may be able and ſufficient to ſerue the turne. Alſo vvhat prerogatiues, preheminences, and authorities they ought to haue: Againe, hovv they ought to bee aſſembled, vvhere, in vvhat tyme, and vvhat houre, then vvhich matters ought to be firſt propounded, to vvhom the Bylls of remembraunce for diſpatch and al other vvritings ought to bee delyuered, vvho ought to ſolicet the matters, and hovve they should be entred into the bookes, and many ſuch lyke things. Furthermore to shevve hovve one counſell ought to anſvvere another orderly, to the intent there be no confuſion nor mingle mangle of matters. And laſtly, to shevv

them vvhen they haue all determyned vppon ſome matter, hovve and in vvhat ſort they ſhall make relacion thereof vnto the Prince before they make any final reſolution or concluſion. Followving then this order, mine author ſayth, that if the Prince minde to gouerne his ſtate vvell, and to diſpatche manye matters ſpeedilye, hee ought to haue ſeauen counſells euery one differing from other in affayres, offices, and in authoritie.

The Eſchequer.

And firſt he beginneth vvith the counſell of reuenevves, not for that it is firſt by vvorthyneſſe, but (as I take it) for that it is firſt by order of nature, taking here perhaps the

Princes

Princes reuenevves to bee the matter, vvithout the vvhich nothing can be done, to vvhich counſel belongeth theſe points here followving.

To gather vp his reuenevves.

To ſee that they bee not vvaſted.

To encreaſe them by all conuenient meanes.

To conſider from vvhence, hovv and in vvhat tyme extraordinary reuenevves maye bee beſt leuyed, to appoint taskes, and ſubſedies, tolles, and cuſtomes, and to reforme them vvhen they be eyther to much or to little, vvithout dammaging the vveale publique, to abridge ſuperfluous, and to encreaſe neceſſary expences.

Theſe thinges belong to our high Courte of Parlament.

The

The priuie counſell which for worthineſſe woulde be firſt placed.

The ſeconde is the counſell of the ſtate, vvhoſe office and dutie conſiſteth in theſe points here followving. Firſt, to ſee vvhether ſuch officers and gouernours as ſerue vnder the Prince as vvell in peacible as in vvarlike affayres, doe their dutye or not. To knovve hovve long their tyme of ſeruice endureth, vvhyther they ought to be chaunged or not,& vvho ought to be choſen to ſerue in their roomes. Moreouer, to ſee that all charges both ordinary and extraordinarie, as vvell for matters of peace, as alſo of vvarre, be payde in due tyme by vertue of their vvarrant directed to the counſell of the reuenevves, vvhich haue authoritie

ritie to receyue, but not to diſ-
burſe one penny vvithout ſpe-
ciall vvarrant from this coun-
ſell, vvhich onely hath povver
to diſtribute the Princes mo-
ney. Alſo to conſider vvyth
vvhome eyther peace, vvarre,
league,or truce,is to bee made.
Agayne, vvyth vvhome the
Prince ought to ioyne in true,
or fayned friendship,and hovv
farre, hovve much, in vvhat
ſort, and at vvhat time, vvhi-
ther ſecretelye or openly hee
ought to ayde his friends.And
therefore this counſell hauing
ſo great matters in charge, de-
ſerueth vvell to bee the heade
and chiefe of al the other coun-
ſells.

The thyrde counſell is for The coun-
matters

ſell of war, vvhereof Englande hath moſt neede.

matters of vvarre, and therefore mine author calleth it the counſell of vvarre, vvhoſe office is to ſee that the Prynces Tovvnes, Portes, & Frontiers, be vvell fortifyed, and to vnderſtande the vvhole Arte and Diſcipline of vvarre, to the intent the Prince and his realme maye not onely bee defended from all forreyne povver, but alſo get the victory of his enimies, vvith vvhome he ſhall hap to ioyne in battayle. And therefore this counſell beſides being skilfull in Fortification, in taking of muſters, in trayning of Souldiours, and in ſetting of battayles ought alſo to haue in prompe memory al the former vvarres of the Prince and

and of his predeceſſors, and to knovve hovve and vpon vvhat occaſion thoſe vvarres vvere firſt begonne, followved, ended, and vvhat ſucceſſe they had, and hovve thoſe vvarres differed one from another by reaſon of tyme, and vvhat condicions of peace haue bene offered or receyued, & vpon vvhat cauſes. Alſo to conſider as vvell the force of the enimy and of his allyes and confederates, as of the Prince and his confederates, and to compare them togither, that they may knovve vvhyther they bee equall in povver, or that the one excelleth the other, & vvherin, as in men, armor, diſcipline, vittails, ſame, credit, money, friends, al-

lyes and ſuch lyke, vvythout due conſideration of vvhiche things, he that beginneth anye vvarre, endeth the ſame for the moſt part to his great loſſe, shame, and reproche, and therfore hovv neceſſary this counſell is to a Prince; it is eaſie ynough to ſee.

Purueyours

The fourth counſell is for prouiſion of vittailes, and therfore it may be vvell called of vs the counſell of vittelers, or purueyours, vvhoſe charge is to furnishe the vvhole ſtate vvith vittailes both in time of peace, and vvarre. And therefore this counſell had neede to knovve euery part of the Countrie, and vvhat it is able to yeelde and to keepe bookes of remembrances

that

that maye shevve them at all tymes vvhat ſtore of vittayle there is, and vvhat is lacking, vvhat commeth in, or goeth out by ſea or by land, alſo from vvhence they are brought and vvhyther they are caryed, by vvhat vvaye, by vvhome, in vvhat ſort, hovv much, and at vvhat tyme, and ſuch like matters appertayning to their office. And to this counſell the Prince shall doe vvell to referre al matters touching lycences of carying out corne, or other vittayle, graunting lycence to no perſon to carrye oute of the realme any vittayle, vvithout the conſent and aduiſe of thys counſel, vvherby the ſtate shall not onely haue ſufficient al-

vvayes for themſelues, but alſo many tymes ſuch aboundance as they may helpe their friends and louing neighbors, in their neede, vvhereas contrarivviſe for lacke of this counſell hauing this authority, the realme many times ſuffereth great famine by meanes that a fevv couetous perſons preferring their ovvne priuate lucre before the profite of the vvhole common vvealth, by money and friendſhip doe procure licences of the Prince, to cary out into forrein places that vittayle, vvhereby the common vvealth at home should be ſuſteyned. Yea, and many tymes for vile lucre ſake and hope of greater gaine, doe rather relieue the enimies, than

the

the friendes of the ſtate, vvhich through vnkindeneſſe by them conceyued cauſeth offence, yea and ſometime breach of friendſhip. Moreouer for lack of this counſell, vvarres are made many times in Countries, vvheras no meate is to be had for man, or beaſt, ſo as the armye is no ſooner in the fielde, but it ſuffereth extreeme hunger, and is therby forced to returne immediately home agayne vvyth ſhame ynough, or to make peace, or truce, eyther oute of tyme, or elſe vvith ſuch condicions, as are not meete, nor honorable, vvhereby the Prince loſeth his eſtimation amongeſt ſtraungers, and getteth the hatred of his ovvne people. For

tvvo thinges makes the people to loue the Prince, that is, to be defended from the oppreſsion of the mightye, and to bee in league vvyth thoſe Nations, vvithout vvhome they can not vvell traffique.

The cõmon place.

The fifte counſell is touching matters of lavve, vvhoſe charge is to appoint as manye and as fevve officers as ſhall ſeeme requiſite to miniſter iuſtice in ciuill cauſes throughout the vvhole ſtate, and thys counſel muſt haue authority to make lavves, to repeale lavves, to reforme lavves, and to interprete lavves, for lack of vvhich counſell great vvrongs are ſuffred, and many diſorders committed in all common vvealths

These pointes alſo doe belong to our high Courte of Parlament.

to

to the great decay of the ſtate, and ſetting vp and aduauncing of a fevv Lavveyers and aduocates, vvhich in theſe dayes may boldly rob and ſpoyle the poore commons, vvithout any feare of punishment or correction.

The ſixt counſell is touching cryminall cauſes, and therfore it may be called the counſell of correction, thys counſell muſt haue authoritye to iudge and giue ſentence of all crymes cõmitted any maner of vvay, and to punishe the offenders according to the lavves of the countrie. The kings bench.

The ſeauenth counſell is touching revvardes to be giuen by the Prince to ſuch as deſerue, and The Whitehal, or court of revvards.

and therefore it maye be verye vvel called the revvarding coũ-ſell, for the office of this coun-ſell is to knovv vvho deſerueth vvell, and vvho doth not, and to enforme the Prince thereof, to the intent the Princes beni-fites be not euill beſtovved: and therefore the Prince ſhall doe vvell, not to giue any revvarde vvythout the aduice of thys counſell. And for lack of ſuch a counſell, vve ſee for the moſt part in Princes Courts that the vertuous ſort vvhich commõ-ly be no crauers, are ſildome or neuer conſidered; and ſuch as leaſt deſerue, are alvvayes beſt revvarded. The Prince being thus furniſhed vvith theſe dy-uers counſels ſhall bee able to

diſpatch

diſpatch more matters, than vvhen the vvhole charge lyeth onely vpon tvvo or three perſons, by vvhoſe long delayes the Princes ſubiectes are novve forced to conſume themſelues in continuall vvayting, for diſpatch of buſineſſe, and yet as mine author ſayth, the ambition and couetouſneſſe of ſome counſelers is ſuch, as they can not ſuffer to haue any partiners in their doings, bicauſe they vvill haue all the honor, and all the gayne to themſelues, eſteeming more their ovvne priuate lucre, than the profite of the common vvealth, vvhich kinde of men are vnmete to be counſelers, bee they neuer ſo vviſe. And to the intent that theſe

ſeauen counſells before mentioned, may not be reduced all to one, in ſuch ſort as tvvo or three perſons should rule all, as commonlye is ſeene in moſt places novv a dayes. It is requiſite therefore that no counſeler be ſuffred to be of diuers counſells at once, but to tende one alone, medling vvith no matters of any other counſell, but onely vvith thoſe, vvhich appertayneth to that counſell, vvherevnto hee is called. But novve, to order theſe ſeauen coũſells rightly, it vvere needefull to vvryte ſeauen Bookes, declaring al the particuler parts and circumſtaunces that belong vnto euery one of the ſaid coũſells, but for ſo much as it vvere

a ſu-

a ſuperfluous thing to repeate in euery one of thoſe bokes, all the qualities that be requiſite in thoſe counſelers that are to bee admytted into any of the foreſayde counſells, and ſpecially e ſuch qualities, not differing verye much one from another. I thought it beſt therefore to ſpende this booke in making one diſcourſe of that matter for all, vvhich here followveth.

VVhat a counſeler is, and vvhat qualities he ought to haue.

A Counſeler is a ſufficiēt perſon, choſen by the Prince,

meete to ſerue in ſome one of the foreſaide counſels, and able to diſcharge hys dutie therein. In vvhich definition tvvo thinges are to be conſidered, that is, the ſufficientcie of the manne, and the choyſe of the Prince, of both vvhich things vve minde to ſpeake: but firſt of the ſufficientcy of the manne, vvhich conſiſteth in tvvo poynts, that is, in the qualities of the mind, and in the qualities of the bodye.

The qualities of the minde requiſite in anye counſeler in generall, are in number as mine Author ſayth. xv. that is,

1 To be vviſe.
2 To be eloquent.
3 To ſpeake dyuers languages.

To

To be a good Hyſtoriographer. 4
To be a good Morall Philoſopher. 5
To be politique. 6
To be a traueler. 7
To knovve the force as vvell of hys Prince, as of his enymies and neyghbours. 8
To loue hys common vvealth, and to preferre the profite, and honor thereof before his ovvne gaine and eſtimation. 9
To haue a right iudgement in all thinges vvithout partialitie, eſteeming honeſtie and truthe more than friende or kinſman, and to be no maintainer of any ſect or faction; vvhich be perillous members in anye common vvealth. 10
To be iuſt in correcting the 11

euill vvithout rygour, and in revvarding the good according to their due deſertes.

12 To be liberall.

13 To be benificiall tovvards his common vvealth.

14 To be affable, that is to ſaye, courteous and gentle, in hys ſpeech and behauiour tovvards all ſortes of men, both poore and ryche.

15 And finally, to haue a noble, ſtovvte, couragious, and conſtant minde, not fearing to loſe both lyfe and goodes for the truth ſake. All vvhich qualities mine author might eaſily haue reduced into theſe fiue generall kindes: that is, Prudence, Scyence, Iuſtice, Fortytude, and Temperaunce. For vnder Prudence

dence are comprehended the firſt, the ſixt, ſeauenth, & eyght quality, for there is, PRVDENTIA, MONASTICA, DOMESTICA, and POLITICA. The firſt vvherof, teacheth a man to gouerne himſelfe, leading a ſole lyfe, the ſeconde, to gouerne a familye, and the third, to rule a common vvelth, vvhich requireth ſuche pollicie and experience as he talketh of. Vnder Science may be comprehended the ſeconde, the thirde, the fourth, and fift qualitie: and vnder Iuſtice, the ninth, tenth, leauenth, tvvelfth, & thirteenth qualitie: vnder Temperaunce, the fourteenth; and vnder Fortitude the fifteenth, and manye others, vvhich mine Author as I ſuppoſe leaueth out of purpoſe,

poſe, thinking theſe ſufficient (as I take it) yea, and perhaps more than are to bee founde in ſome counſelers in theſe daies, and therefore though I haue a good vvyll to treate of theſe thinges in another order, yet for his ſake that delyuered mee the booke, I vvill follovv mine Authors order, briefely declaring the vſes of the foreſayde fifteene qualityes, and vvhat cauſes mooued hym to thinke them moſt neceſſary for a coũſeler, & finally hovy the Prince ſhall knovve by tryall, and not by relation, vvhither his counſeler hath ſuch qualities or not: VVherby it ſeemeth that mine Author ſuppoſeth, the Prince to bee endued vvyth all theſe

qualities

qualities hymſelfe, for other-vviſe I ſee not hovv he should bee able ryghtlye to iudge of them.

VVell then the firſt qualitie is, as he ſayth, to haue a quicke and liuely vvytte, vvhich is the beginning, meane, and ende of all noble enterpriſes, vvithout the vvhich all other vertues do little preuayle. For vve ſee by experience that the rude vvytte vvith great labor & dilygence, ſildome or neuer, attayneth to that knovvledge or iudgement, vvhich the fine vvyt getteth in short ſpace, & vvith little paine. Neyther doe rude vvyttes euer attempt anye vvorthye enterpriſe: vvherefore to haue a fine vvyt is a thing moſt needefull

A liuely vvytte.

to anye counſeler. VVhiche, vvhyther he hath ſo or not, the Prince ought to knovve by tryall of the manne, and not by information or relation of o-thers. And ſuch tryall is to bee had tvvo maner of vvayes, by his vvordes, and by his deedes, for the vviſe man commonlye doth not talke of ſuch matters, nor in ſuch ſort as the common ſort doth, neyther be his vvor-des or phraſes lyke vnto theirs, his talke is graue and vviſe, hee is readye in aunſvvering, and quick of vnderſtanding, and ea-ſie to bee vnderſtoode in decla-ring any thing. He is pleaſaunt in matters of ſport, and in ear-neſt cauſes graue and circum-ſpect. And finally, he is able to

vſe

vſe talke meete for all compa-
nyes, vvythout breaking the
bounds of comelyneſſe, due to
his calling. Novve as touching
his deedes they are knovvne by
his actiuitie, and by hys dily-
gence vſed in reading, vvriting,
and conferring vvith vviſe and
learned men, and in practiſing
vvyth men of experience, and
vvith men of dyuers nations.
For vvith ſuche the vviſe man
vvill acquaint himſelfe, to the
intent he may knovv all things
and bee ignoraunt in nothing.
But the dull and groſſe vvytted
man doth cleane contrarye, for
he giuing himſelfe to ſloth, to
belly cheere, to levvd company
and to vaine paſtimes, abhor-
reth the companye of the vviſe

and learned ſort & vtterly neglecteth all vertuous exercyſes.

Eloquence. The ſeconde qualitie, meete for a counſeler is to be eloquent to the intent he may be able to perſvvade or diſvvade, to accuſe, or to defende, to prayſe, or diſprayſe, to reioyce or to ſorrovv vvith others, to entertaine Ambaſſadours vvyth pleaſaunt talke or to doe any meſſage, or Ambaſſage from the Prince, alſo in time of tumults and commotions, the eloquent counſeler vvith his authority & good perſvvaſion, maye cauſe much quietneſſe, and profite the common vvealth dyuers vvayes. Novve vvhyther the counſeler be eloquent or not, the Prince maye knovve partlye by hys vvords,

vvords,and partly by his deeds, for by oft talking vvith him,he shall knovv his order of ſpeech, vvhat vvordes and phraſes hee commonly vſeth, and he maye cauſe hym to tell ſome tale or Hyſtorye, marking him hovve he beginneth, deuideth, follovvith,and endeth the ſame,and vvith vvhat grace & proprietie of vvords,alſo hovv he delateth or abridgeth the ſame. Againe, the Prince may knovv hym by his deeds, by conſidering vvhat Mayſters he had to teache him, alſo vvhat diligence he vſed, & vvhat time he emploied therin, vvhyther he made anye vvorke or not, & to examine the ſame: or fayning that hee hath ſome Ambaſſage of importaunce to

ſende ſomevvhyther, he maye cauſe him to endight the ſame in his ovvne preſence.

Knowledge of tongues.

The thirde qualitie of the minde meete for a counſeler is to haue dyuers tongues and languages, to the intent that vvhen hee is ſent in meſſage to any forreyne Prince, hee ſhall not neede the helpe of anye truſsheman or Interpreter to tell his tale. VVhich Interpreters many tymes by adding to, or taking fro, doe hynder the ſame, or elſe do not tell it vvith ſuch grace, nor to ſo good purpoſe as he hymſelfe vvoulde. Moreouer, by hauing the tong of the countrie, vvhere he ſerueth, he ſhall the better vnderſtande the maners, rightes, and cuſtomes,

cuſtomes, and all the ſecretes of the ſame, and Spies vvill more gladly conferre vvith him, and reueale to hym alone, that vvhich they vvould not vvyllingly doe in the preſence of a thirde perſon. And the Prince of the country vvill delight the more in him, vvho ſometyme ſhall haue occaſion to declare ſome ſecret to the Ambaſſador or meſſenger, vvhich he vvould haue no other man to knovve, therefore hovv needefull thys qualitie is to a counſeler, it is eaſie ynough to ſee, vvhiche quality, vvhither the counſeler hath or not, the Prince ought to knovve by tryall, as by making him to vvryte or ſpeake ſome thing in thoſe tongues vvherein

vvherein he should be skilfull. The tongues neceſſarye for an English counſeler in mine opion are theſe. Latten, Frenche, Spannishe, Flemmishe, highe Dutch, and Italian, for vvith all theſe nations vvee haue manye tymes to doe.

Reading of Hyſtories.

The fourth qualitie belonging to a counſeler, is to bee a good Hyſtoriographer, that is to ſaye, to haue ſeene and redde as vvell the Hyſtories of olde tymes as of late dayes, and ſpecially thoſe that appertayne to the ſtate vvherein he ſerueth. And alſo the Hyſtories of the friends, neighbors, and enimies to the ſame ſtate, vvhereby more knovvledge and experience is to bee gotten, than by any

any thing elſe, for Hyſtories be no other thing but a collection of dyuers experiences of all tymes, and of all ſortes of men. VVherfore, a dyligent Hyſtoriographer, vvhich readeth to further his knovvledge, and not to pleaſe his eares, can be ignorauut in nothing that appertaines to gouernement, be it in time of vvarre or peace. For he ſeeth & knovveth al the ſleytes & fine pollicies that hath beene vſed in eyther of both tymes. Neyther is it poſsible for anye man, liue hee neuer ſo long, to get by hys ovvne experience, the tenth part of that knovvledge vvhich a diligent reader of Hyſtories ſhall obtayne in fevve yeres. For vvhereas the

man of experience in his tyme perhaps ſeeth a ſmall number of battayles, ſkirmishes, beſiegings, ſedicions, tumults, breaking vp of vvarres, leagues, peaces, and ſuch lyke matters, the Hyſtoriographer knovveth an infinite number of ſuch things, togither vvith the beginning, proceeding, and ending of the ſame. Alſo he knovveth the beſt vvaye of gouernment, belonging to a common vvealth or kingdome, and hovve to maintaine the ſame, and to encreaſe the povver thereof, by reaſon that he hath redde of ſo manye common vvealthes and kingdomes, and knovvne by vvhat meanes they haue increaſed or decayed, therefore nothing is more

more neceſſary for a counſeler, than to bee a diligent reader of Hyſtories, vvhich vvhither he be ſo or not, the Prince maye knovve by tryall, as by asking hym ſuche queſtions as theſe are, hovv many chaunges hath the crovvn of England, Fraunce or Spayne ſuffred? vvhat families hath poſſeſſed it? by vvhat meanes, hovv long time, and vvhat vvas the cauſe of euerye chaunge? and hovve manye of euerye familye raygned, and vvhich of thoſe had moſt or leaſt fame? hovv many vvarres euery one of them made, for vvhat cauſe, vvith vvhom, and in vvhat time, and hovve ſuch vvarres vvere firſt begonne and ended? alſo to aske hym vvhat

notable battayles hath beene euer ſince the birth of Chriſt, eyther in Englande, Fraunce, or Spayne, vvho hath vvonne, & vvho hath loſt, & to shevv the cauſe thereof. Alſo to aske him vvhat ſeditions and tumultes hath bene in any of thoſe coũtries, vpon vvhat cauſe ſuch ſeditions vvere made, vvhat hurt or good they dyd, and hovve they vvere appeaſed, to vvhich and ſuch like queſtions, if the counſeler can aunſvvere readily, there is no doubt but he is a good Hyſtoriographer, and can vſe hys knovvledge to good purpoſe, vvhen tyme and occaſion shall ſerue.

Morall Philoſophy.

The fifte qualitie is to bee a good Morall Phyloſopher, to the

the intent hee maye perfitely knovve the ende and true vſe of euery vertue, vvherin it conſiſteth, and hovve farre it extendeth, for lack of vvhich knovvledge, many doe accompt rudeneſſe & ignoraunce to be plaine dealing, pride to bee magnanimitie, modeſtye to be covvardlyneſſe, and foolishe hardineſſe to be fortitude, and to be short, doe take vertue for vice, & vice for vertue. In all counſells and deliberatiõs, the firſt thing that men doe conſult of, is vvhither the thing they go about, be honeſt or not, & if the counſeler knovveth not vvherein honeſtie conſiſteth, and hovve farre it extendeth, he can neyther make vviſe deliberation, nor good reſolution.

ſolution. Moreouer, in appointing offices to meete perſons, & in revvarding euery man according to his deſerts, the knovvledge of the vertues is ſo neceſſary, as a counſeler can not bee vvithout it. The Prince maye knovve vvhyther his counſeler hath ſuche knovvledge or not, by demaunding hym ſuch lyke queſtions as theſe are. VVhat things bee needefull to the obtaining of the chiefe felicitie in thys lyfe? vvhat is Prudence? vvhat is Iuſtice? vvhat is Fortytude? and vvhat partes they haue, vvhyther it be better for a Prince to be couetous or prodigall, and vvhich of thoſe extreemes dravve nigheſt to the vertue of liberalitie? vvherein de-

clemency doth conſiſt, & vvhither it be better to be ouer mercyfull, or to ſeuere, and hovve many vvayes a man maye offend againſt Fortitude? Againe, vvherein magnificencie doth conſiſt, and vvhat contraries it hath. The Prince alſo maye knovve hys councelers skill in theſe matters by hys doinges, ſtudies, and trade of lyfe.

The ſixt qualitie is to be pol- Pollicie.
litike, that is to ſay, to be practiſed in gouernement, both in time of peace and vvarre, for the office of the Prince, is not onely to gouerne vvell his people, but alſo to defende them from all violence. And therefore the counſeler had neede to be skilfull as vvell in martiall affayres,

affayres, as in cyuill gouernement. And firſt as touching cyuill gouernmẽt, he muſt knovv that euerye common vvealth conſiſteth of tvvo parts, vvhich I maye call here for difference ſake, the body and the ſoule. By the body I meane the habitations or dvvelling places, vvherin the aire firſt is to be conſidered, as vvhyther it bee hote, colde, or temperate, then the ſcyte thereof, as vvhyther it be neare to ſome Sea, running ſtreame, or ſtanding vvater, alſo vvhyther ſuch ſcyte be high, or lovv, dry, or moyſt, in fruitfull ſoyle or barren grounde, nighe to, or farre fro the enimie. Alſo to vvhat vvindes it is moſt ſubiect, for according to theſe

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conſiderations, the ſtreetes in Cities or tovvnes ought to bee made, vvyde, or ſtrayte, open to one vvinde, and shut to another, according as they be good or hurtfull, the market places aptly placed, and the houſes built in ſuch order, and hauing ſuch shape, as is moſt neceſſary and conuenient to ſerue al purpoſes. VVherby it ſeemeth by my Authors vvordes, that the counſeler had neede to be skilfull in Architecture, vvhich in deede is a noble Scyence, and neceſſary to all men, but ſpecially̆e to counſelers and Magiſtrates. By the ſovvle of the common vvealth, is ment the gouernmēt of the ſame, vvherin firſt is to bee conſidered, of

vvhat maner of forme it is, as vvhither it be gouerned by one onely King or Prince, as the Kingdome of Spayne, Portúgale, and Caſtyll: or by noble men onely, as Venice novve, or as Sparta in olde tyme paſt: or by the cõmon people, as novv in oure dayes the Cyties of Svvyzerland, called the Cantovvnes: or by the king and his nobles, as the Kyngdome of Denmarke, and as Rome vvhen it had kings: or by the king and his commons, as for a certayne tyme the Empire of Perſia vvas gouerned: or by Nobles and commons togyther, as Rome after they had put dovvne there kings and choſen Conſulls and Trybunes: & the lyke gouern-

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ment vvas in Lacedemony and Athens, & in our tyme in Floraunce and Seane, and dyuers other common vvealths in Italie: or vvhither it be gouerned by a king, his nobles, and commons, all three togither, as the Empire of Almanie, the kingdome of Pollonia, of Arragon in Spayne, and alſo of Englande, and in euerye one of theſe gouernments, the counſeler ought to knovve hovve, and by vvhat meanes the ſtate may be preſerued, augmented, or decayed, vvhat perilles maye happe, and hovv the ſame may be remedyed vvith leſt trouble, coſte, and expences. VVhat lavves and Magiſtrats are moſt meete and neceſſary for euerye

gouernment. For it is vnpoſsible for the counſeler that is ignoraunt in theſe thinges, to remedy all ſuch diſorders as may chaunce. Neyther can he counſell his Prince hovve to behaue himſelfe vvyth this friende, or that confederate, vvith this or that foe, nor knovv hovv much the one may further hym, and the other hynder hym. Thus muche of cyuill gouernment. Novve as touching Marshall affayres or vvarlyke pollicye, the counſeler ought to knovve ſuch circumſtaunces as doe belong to a good Souldiour, Captaine, or generall, as hovv Souldyours are to be leauied, muſtred, and armed, hovve they ſhould Marche, hovv to be encamped,

camped, hovv to fight, hovve to retire, hovv a Campe should be fortified, and hovv a tovvne should be beſieged or defended, and finally, all ſuch thinges as doe appertayne to the Arte of vvarre. But novve to knovve vvhyther the counſeler be thus pollitike or not, the prince may trye hym, by asking theſe or ſuch like queſtions here follovving. As vvhyther it be better to builde a Citie in a fertyll or barren ſoyle? vvhich vvinds are to be barred from an habitation or dvvelling place? hovv manye vvayes a ſtate or kingdome is vvoont to bee loſt? by vvhat meanes the good gouernement of anye common vvealth is decayed? of vvhat

cauſes ſeditions and rebellions doe ſpring? hovv they may be oppreſſed? vvherin the povver of a Prince doth conſiſt? vvhyther in riches, or in good Souldiers? hovv manye vvaies one Prince vvythout ſlaunder may make vvarre vppon another Prince, that hath giuen no iuſt occaſion therevnto? vvhyther it be better to tarie the enimye at our ovvne home, or to ſeeke him at his home, hovv manye things a Prince hath to conſider before he enter into vvarre? and being entred, hovve many before he fight anye battayle? and hauing fought, hovv many things he hath to conſider after he hath vvonne or loſt the victorie. To vvhich and ſuch like

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queſtions, if he can rightly and readily anſvvere, he is vvorthy to bee called a pollitike counſeler.

The ſeauenth qualitie belonging to a counſeler is to bee a traueler and to haue ſeene not onely all the terretories of hys Prince, but alſo manye other Countries, and ſpecially thoſe that bee eyther friendes or enimies to his prince, ſo as he may vnderſtande their gouernment both in time of peace & vvarre, and their reuenevves as vvell ordinary as extraordinary: alſo hovv the Princes and the ſubiects of thoſe countries do like one of another, and hovv they agree or diſagree amongeſt themſelues, of vvhat povver they

Traueling of Countries.

they be, vvhat Forts & Holdes they haue, hovv they are maintayned and kept, vvhat trade of lyfe and traffique the common people vſeth, of vvhat nature, diſpoſition and manners they be, and ſuch like things neceſſarie to be knovvne. VVythout conſideration of vvhich things, vvho ſo traueleth into ſtraunge countries ſpendeth his tyme in vayne, as the yong Napolitan that had beene at Rome, and at hys returne, coulde render no good accompt of his trauelle to the Prince that gaue him leaue to go abroade, but onely hovv he had ſeene vvalles, tovvers, cyties, tovvnes, hylles, dales, floudes, trees, and buſshes, of all vvhich things he had plenty at home,

home,and therefore vvas commaunded by the Prince from thencefoorth to tarye ſtyll at home. But the vviſe traueiler obſerueth ſuch profitable thinges as are before tolde, and many more very diligently, & by comparing the ſtraunge countries firſt one vvith another, & then all thoſe vvith his ovvne, is able to iudge of the gouernment of hys ovvne countrie, hovve good or euill it is, and knovveth hovv to roote out all abuſes and euill cuſtomes, and to plant good in their ſtead. He knovveth hovve to entertayne ſtraungers,be they friends,foes, or nevvtralls, by reaſon that he is acquainted vvith their manners and conditions, & can ap-

ply his vvordes, vvryting, and deedes, according as the condition of the men, of the matter, of the tyme, and of the Prince shall require, knovving both the commodities and diſcommodities of tymes and places, vvherby the Prince or his coũſell can neuer bee deceyued in any thing, by vvrong or falſe information of ſtraungers, neyther shall hee neede to depende vppon their iudgement. The Prince to knovve vvhyther his counſeler bee a traueiler, and vvhat profite hee hath reaped thereby, maye queſtion vvyth him in this vviſe. Hovv many myles contayneth the length of Fraunce, and hovv many in breadth, and alſo hovv manye

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in circute, vvhat notable cities, tovvnes, and Vniuerſities it hath? & ſpecially vvhat holdes and Fortes? And on vvhat ſide the countrie is moſt eaſie to be inuaded, vvhat floudes and ſtreames it hath that bee not vvadable, vvhat vertue or vice is moſt proper or peculyer to the French men, and in vvhat thing they moſt delyght? alſo vvherin the nobilitie of Fraũce differeth from the nobilitie of Englande? and vvherein their people differ from oures? hovv much their buildings differ frõ oures? vvhich of the tvvo kings of Fraunce and Englande hath moſt abſolute povver? vppon vvhat occaſions and hovve the people of Fraunce is vvont to

vvithſtande their prince? And vvherein their ſeruitude diffe-reth from the ſeruitude of our people? hovv the king of Fraũce leauyeth his Souldiours? hovv they are exerciſed and trayned? And in marching through the countrie, vvhat order is taken and vvhat prouiſion is made, that the poore countriemen be not ſpoyled nor moleſted by them? The like queſtions may bee demaunded of anye other countrie, or vvythout asking theſe queſtions it is eaſie to per-ceyue by his ovvne talke of the countries vvhere he hath bene, vvhat profite he hath gathered. For if he be alvvayes ready ey-ther to condemne ſtraunge coũ-tries and their cuſtomes or go-

uernment

uernment and to prayſe hys ovvne, or elſe contraryvviſe to prayſe the others & to diſpraiſe his ovvne, vvithout due conſideration or compariſon had: it is an euident ſigne that hee maketh no diſtinctiō of things, and vvhereas is no diſtinction, there can be no choyſe or election, and vvhere election vvanteth, there is no vviſedome nor iudgement, and vvhere vviſedome and iudgement fayleth, all things fayle.

Knowledge of the Princes power.

The eyght qualitie requiſite in a counſeler, is to knovve as vvell the ſtrength and povver of his Prince, as alſo of his allyes, friendes, neyghbours and enimies, for vvant of vvhich knovvledge, manye tymes the

Prince is counſeled to vvarre vvith thoſe, vvith vvhome he ought to lyue in peace, and to make peace vvith thoſe vvyth vvhome he should rather haue vvarres. And the Prince maye try the knovvledge of his cõſeler in thys behalfe, by asking him theſe or ſuche lyke queſtions. As vvhat ordinary or extraordinarye reuenevves hys friendes or foes haue? vvherof ſuch reuenevves do riſe? vvhat Souldyours they are able to make? hovve they are leauyed, armed, trayned, and exercyſed? vvhat Captaines they haue? of vvhat thinges neceſſarye to maintaine vvarre, their countries haue eyther plentye or lack? and ſuch lyke.

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The ninth qualitie requiſite in a counſeler, is to loue hys common vvealth, ſo vvell as he doth alvvayes regarde the profite and honour thereof, more than his ovvne, eſteeming in reſpecte thereof, neyther hys goodes, dignitie, lyfe, nor fame, vvithout vvhich loue, he can neuer bee ſo carefull, for the preſeruation of hys common vvealth, nor ſo diligent in doing his duetie, as hee ought to be, vvhich loue or zeale, vvhyther the counſeler hath or not, the Prince may knovvve, partly by hearing his opinion in ſuch matters as doe redovvnde more to the Princes peculier profite, than eyther to his honor, or to to the profite of the common vvealth.

The zeale and true loue of the Counſeler towardes his country.

vvealth. As vvhyther vppon ſome fained cauſe, it be good to breake a league or truce made vvyth ſome Prince? or to depryue Cyties or tovvnes of their liberties? or to charge the commons vvith ſome extreme ſubſedie, taske, loane, beneuolence and ſuch like. And partly he may knovv him by his conditions. For if he be eyther an hipocrite or diſſembler, a couetous perſon or a flatterer, ready to vpholde the Princes vvordes vvith yea and naye, affirming alvvayes that the Prince maye doe vvhat him lyſteth, and that he can not erre: it is vnpoſsible that ſuch one can loue his common vvealth, but muſt needes be a great enimy thervnto.

The

The tenth qualitie is to haue a right iudgement in all things, and to heare al men indifferentlye, vvythout partialitie or reſpect of perſons, and to thinke hymſelfe more bounde to right and Iuſtice, than to Lorde or Duke, to friend or kinſmã. For the counſeler is a publique perſon, and therefore ought to bee voyde of all priuate affection, louing in general all good men for their vertue, and hating the euil in like maner for their vice, of vvhat countrie or nation ſoeuer they be. For though there be many nations, yet there bee but tvvo ſortes of people, that is eyther good or euil. Notvvithſtanding of thoſe that be good, vvee are bounde both by Gods

Vpright iudgement.

lavve and mans lavve, to preferre in ſome reſpectes, our Parents, kinſmen, and countrymen before others. The Prince may knovv vvhither his counſeler hath this qualitie or not, by obſeruing his doings, and marking vvhyther he be a procurer of fauour, lyuing, office, or dignitie for his kinſmen, or others that bee not vvorthye therof. Agayne, vvhyther he be factious, that is to ſaye, fauouring and maintayning one part of the ſtate more than another, as the Nobles more than the cõmons or contraryvviſe. And vvhyther he vpholdeth the Eccleſiaſticall povver, more than the lay povver, vvhich kinde of men are perillous in all commõ vvealthes.

vvealthes. For ſo as their factiō may ſtande, be it by right, or by vvrong, they care not vvhat miſchiefe they doe, hauing no regarde to the commō vvealth at al. Neither is it good for a Prince to admyt into hys counſell, anye man that hath beene knovvne to bee an open enimie to any dominion, Prouince, Citie, or tovvne, that is ſubiect to the Prince, or to ſuffer any ſuch to beare rule in any of thoſe places. For man being naturallye vindicatiue, hauing once gotten povver to execute his deſire, vvill vndoubtedly vvhen he ſeeth his tyme, vnder the colour of Iuſtice, reuenge his priuate vvrong, vvith the publicke ſvvorde. Neyther

is it good to put anye man that is the heade of any faction, in authoritie, or to make more accompt of hym, than of the contrarye part: for that breedeth diſdayne and hatred in that part, not onely againſt the partie ſo promoted, but alſo againſt the Princes ovvne perſō, for his partialitie shevved therin, vvhich thing hath brought many Princes to their deſtruction.

Iuſtice. The leauenth qualitie belonging to a counſeler, is to bee a iuſt man, vvylling to giue euery man his ovvne, according to his deſartes, that is to ſaye, to chaſtice the euill vvithout crueltie, and to revvarde the good vvith ſuch revvarde as is due to their

their vertue. The iuſt manne is faythfull and perfite in all hys doings, and therfore is beloued of both yong and olde, of rich and poore, and all men dare boldly commyt to hym themſelues, their vvyues, their children, their goods, their honor, and their lyues. The Prince may knovve vvhyther his coũſeler be a iuſt man or not, partly by his vvordes, and partly by his deeds, for his talke is graue, vviſe, and full of truth, he alvvaves ſpeaketh plainely, euen as his heart thinketh, he is no tatler, no tale teller, nor carryer of nevves, no euyll reporter, ſlaunderer, or backbyter of the abſent. For to carry tales proceedeth of a vile and baſe cou-

rage, and they that vſe it, are neuer faythfull. He is no hypocrite or diſſembler, nor double of hys tongue, ſpeaking one thing in preſence, and another thing in abſence, neyther vvill he report anye thing out of the mouth of hearesay, that lying Author, but onely that vvhich he hath ſeene or felt, he reprooueth the euill courteouſly, and praiſeth the good vvithout flatterie, for he vvill neyther flatter nor be flattered, yea rather hee louing nothing but truth, hateth all lyers, flatterers, ſcoffers, ieſters, & raylers. Novv as touching the deedes of the iuſt man, they are eaſily knovvne. For hee lyueth quietly contented vvyth hys ovvne, ſeeking neyther

neyther honour nor ryches by any other meanes than by vertuous trauell: VVhereby if he did not ſeeke preferment, hee should shevve hymſelfe to bee vniuſt. For as it is ambition in him that is vnvvorthy to ſeeke honour or dignitie by fauour, money, or by anye other vnlavvful meanes, ſo is it covvardlyneſſe of courage in hym that vvell deſerueth, not to ſeeke by vertuous meane hys due revvard. Moreouer, the iuſt mans houſe and family is vvell ordered, and his ſeruaunts are modeſt, he dealeth vvith all men iuſtly, he payeth his dettes truly, he is no maintainer of buſie bodies, nor byer of other mens dettes or doubtfull tytles, he is

no

no vvrangler in the lavve, but fleeth all occaſion of ſute, contention, quarrell, ſtryfe, & ſedition, and finallye he is louing, kinde, faythfull, friendly, charitable, and thankefull. VVhich vertues togither vvith the reſt before mentioned, vvho ſo hath not, is no perfite iuſt man.

Liberalitie. The tvvelth qualitie requiſite in a counſeler is to bee liberall, that is neyther to be couetous, nor yet prodigall, but to vſe the meane betvvixt them bothe, vvhereby hee ſhall procure the loue and good vvill of the people, vvhereas the couetous coũſeler is hated of all men. For he hath al things to be ſolde, in ſo much as hee vvill neythet heare ſuters nor ſpeake for ſuters

ters vvithout revvarde, & ſuch one vvith money is eaſily corrupted, to betraye both Prince and Countrie, ſo as he maye doe it couertly and ſafely, he is alſo readie at all times, to agree to the confiſcation of another mans goodes, be it by right or by vvrong, bicauſe his parte is therein. Againe, the prodygall coũſeler on the other ſide vvith vvaſtfull ſpending, by little and little conſumeth himſelfe, and ſo looſeth his reputation, and at length becommeth as euill or vvoorſe than the couetous counſeler. The Prince maye knovve vvhyther his counſeler be liberall, couetous, or prodygall by his doings, for if he bee lyberall, he keepeth good hoſ-

 pitalitie,

pitalitie, and he is good to the poore, and readie to relieue the neceſsitie of ſuch as vvant, as in helping vvyth hys money and friendship to beſtovve honeſt maydes in mariage, to redeeme poore priſoners and captyues, and alſo to pay the dettes of his honeſt friendes, that are falne into decaye, and to helpe ſuch as are like to deſerue vvell of the common vvealth. But if he be couetous he doth none of theſe thinges, for all is little ynough for himſelfe, hath he neuer ſo much, he lyueth miſerablye ſcratching all to himſelfe, and in any ſeruice of the Prince ſeeketh his ovvne gaine, & not the honor of his Prince, or the profite of the common vvealth,

he

he is euer crauing of the Prince and putting in billes of remembraunce eyther for himſelfe, or for ſome of hys. Agayne, the prodigall counſeler vvaſteth his ſubſtaunce in making ſuperfluous bankets, in gaye and coſtly apparel, in Iuſtings, Torneis, in Muſike, dauncing, on Havvkes and Hovvndes, on flatterers, ieſters, and ſcoffers, and in keeping a rable of ydle ſeruauntes vvithout any purpoſe, vvhich things vvhen hee is no lenger able to maintayne vvith his ovvn goods, then he is ready to take of other mens, and ſpareth not to rob both Prince & common vvealth, ſo as he may haue vvherevvith to feede his vaine delightes. VVhereby it appea-

reth that both the couetous & prodigall counſeler haue regard onely to themſelues, and not to the Prince, or to the common vvealth. But the lyberall counſeler contraryvviſe regardeth onely the profite and honor of his Prince, and therefore it is the Princes part to make much of ſuch, and to enriche them by giuing them both lands, fees, & offices, to the intent that they hauing ſufficient to maintaine their callings, neede not to ſeke any bie meanes to enrich themſelues, and thereby fayle in doing their dutie eyther towards him, or the common vvealth.

Beneficialneſſe.

The thirteenth quality requiſite in a counſeler, is to be beneficiall to his countrie, vvhich vertue

vertue diffreth from liberality, for liberallitie conſiſteth in gyuing money or moneys vvorth as it ought to be giuen. But beneficialneſſe, called in Latten BENEFICENTIA, conſiſteth in doing good turnes and friendly pleaſures, as in helping the cõmon vvealth and all the members thereof vvith his good aduiſe and counſell, by procuring the profite thereof, by comforting the afflicted, by prayſing the good, and reproouing the euill, by defending, helping, and furthering vvyth hys fauour, povver, and authoritie ſuche as deſerue vvell, vvhyther they require it or not: finally, hee is alvvaies ready to traueile vvith the Prince & his officers about

anye thing that is needefull to the common vvealth,& therefore he is vvell vvorthy to bee called a father of the common vvealth. Thys man is eaſely knovvne to the Prince by hys doings, and therfore there needeth no further tryall to bee made of him.

Affability. The fourteenth quality requiſite in a counſeler, is to be affable, that is to ſaye, gentle and courteous both of ſpeeche and behauiour. For ſuch one is eaſie to be ſpoken vvith, and receyueth both poore and riche vvith a chearefull countenance, ready at all times to heare their ſutes vvith a pacient and attentyue eare, vſing no frovvning lookes, nor frovvard anſvvers,

he

he vvill not be offended vvith euery vvorde that shall be vnaduiſedly ſpoken by the ſuter, or by his inferior. Neyther is he captious, taunting, diſdainefull, ſcornefull, or ouer ſeuere in his ſpeeche, he commendeth vvithout flatterie, and reprooueth vvithout villanye, he promiſeth vvith grauitie, and denyeth vvith ſuch curteſie, as the ſuter departeth thervvith vvell ſatyſfied. The Prince shall knovve him by his conditions and behauiour in this ſort. For the courteous man is alvvayes merrie and pleaſaunt, vvatchfull, diligent and circumſpect, he goeth cleanly apparelled and loueth good companye, hee is not factious or partial, but vniuerſall

uerſall and friendly to all men, he is free of ſpeech, and a great enimy to all diſsimulation and hypocriſie, he is neyther colo-ricke nor provvde, for the cole-ricke man is vvhote and haſtie, and vvil be offended vvith eue-ry little trifle, and in his fuerie vvyll neyther heare reaſon, nor ſpeake reaſon. Againe, the provvde man is ſpitefull, and full of diſdayne, eſteeming no man but himſelfe : vvherefore neyther of theſe men can be af-fable or courteous, and therfore vnmeete to be counſelers.

The fiftenth quality requiſite in a counſeler is Fortytude, or valyaunt courage, vvhereby he is made ſtovvte and conſtant in the defence of right, & truth, eſteeming

eſteeming in reſpect thereof, neyther goods, lyfe nor honor. Againe, he is able to beare both proſperitie & aduerſitie, vvith a contented quiet minde, ſo as he vvill not be puffed vp vvith the one, nor oppreſſed vvith the other. For hee contynueth alvvayes one, and is Lorde of himſelfe, and therfore the more able to prouide a ready remedy for a ſoden miſchiefe, as vvell in his ovvne behalfe, as alſo in the behalfe of his Prince and common vvealth in tyme of ſeruice, and to encourage both Prince and people vvhen neede requyreth. The Prince ſhall knovv him by tryal in this maner. For the valyant man is alvvayes an earneſt louer of the

truth, and a cruell enimie to all lyers, flatterers, ſcoffers, & tell tales, vvhich are the corruption and plague of all Courts, for by their meanes, the Prince ſyldome or neuer heareth the truth, vvhereas contrarivviſe, this man letteth not to ſpeake the truth to the Prince at all tymes vvythout reſpect of fauour, or feare of diſpleaſure, & boldly reproueth the abhominable lyes of the falſe flatterers, for this man is no hypocrite or diſſembler, but free of hys ſpeech, and iuſt in his dealings. Let the Prince therefore choſe ſuche a man to be of his counſell, and vtterly refuſe him that is a friend to flatterers, and ieſters, or that vvill hide the truth

from

from him, let him alſo bevvare of the couetous man that loueth money, for he in hope of gaine vvill ſell both his ovvne freedome and other mens. And finally let him neuer admyt into his counſell a covvarde, or faynt hearted man, that is not able to ſuffer the loſſe of things tranſitory, as of vvyfe, children, friendes, ryches, or ſuche lyke, but vvill mourne and ſorrovve vvithout meaſure. For ſuche one is an effeminate and chyldishe perſon, and not vvorthy to ſerue in that place.

Qualities of the body.

Hauing hytherto treated ſufficiently of the qualities of the minde that bee requyred in a counſeler, vvee come novve to ſpeake ſomevvhat of the quali-

ties of his body, not of all, but of thoſe that be moſt needefull, to bee conſidered. VVhich as mine Author ſayth be in number fiue, hys age, complexion, ſtature, making, and countenance, vvhich ſome call fauour or feavvter of the face.

Age. And firſt as touching his age, as he had neede to bee no leſſe then thirtie yeres olde, ſo is it not good, that he be more than three ſcore, for before thirtie yeres of age, mans vvytte for the moſt part is not ſtayed, his experience is ſmall, and his preſumption great, he is hote and high minded. Againe, hee can not be ſo graue as he ought to be, neither vvil the people haue any great credit in hym, yea, rather

rather they vvill mourmour a-
gainſt him, and ſaye that hee
is a verye yonge counſeler.
And therefore ſuche had more
neede to go to ſchoole, and to
followv their learning, and to
traueile coũtries to get langua-
ges, to followve Campes and
Courtes, and to ſee the diuerſi-
tie of cuſtomes, lavves, and go-
uernments, that they may haue
knovvledge, iudgement, and
good experience of things, be-
fore they bee made gouernours
or rulers. Againe, vvhen a man
paſſeth three ſcore, then his me-
mory faileth, his vvyttes vvan-
der, and through his experience
hee becommeth vvylfull fro-
vvarde and obſtinate, he is alſo
colde in all his doings, and ta-

keth not occaſion vvhen it is offered. Alſo his body is vveake and feeble, and not able to traueile in the Princes cauſes, and to be ſhort, he is rather a burden and trouble to the Court, than othervviſe. And therefore it is meete for ſuch one to bee diſcharged of all ſeruice, and to be ſent home revvarded by the Prince according to his deſerts, to the intent he maye quietly ſpend the reſt of his olde yeres at his ovvne home in the ſeruice of God. And yet I vvyll not denye, but that there bee ſome of greater age, vvhiche haue both liuely vvyttes and ſtrong bodies, and that there be yong men alſo not arryuing to thirty yeres, that be both graue, vviſe,

vviſe, and of good experience. But I ſpeake of the moſt part, vvishing the Prince alvvaies to choſe thoſe that be of a meane age betvvixt both, vvhich being neyther to greene nor yet to drye, are the ſtronger and the more ſtayed, and the better able to ſerue the Prince, both vvith ſpirit & body at al aſſayes, yea, and the people alſo vvyll conceiue the better opiniõ of them, and haue them in the more reuerence.

The complexion of the coũſeler, is a thing not lightly to be regarded, for moſt commonly as men bee eyther vvell or euill complexioned, ſo are they vvel or euill conditioned, of complexions there be foure kindes, that Complexiõ.

that is, ſanguyne, colerique, flegmatique, and melancolique, of vvhich mine Author only praiſeth rhe ſanguyne & colorique, affirming ſuche as bee of that temperature, to bee moſt ſeruiceable, eyther vvith ſpirite, or body. For in ſuch do naturally raigne great gifts of the minde, as vvytte, memory, diſcourſe, iudgement, iuſtice, loue, affabilitie, fidelitie, bountyfulneſſe, magnanimitie, and fortytude. Againe, their bodies are healthfull, liuely, nymble and ſtrong, and able to endure traueile and payne, vvhich kynde of men as they are partly knovvne by their doings: ſo mine Author vvould haue the Prince alſo to conſult vvyth his learned Phyſitians

ſitians touching that matter. For to iudge vvel of complextions is a thing chiefely appertaining to their Arte. And as for the flegmatique and melancolique perſõ he vtterly reiecteth, ſaying, that the flegmatique man is rude, dull, heauie, and ignorant, and as for the melancolique man he is vvorſt of all the reſt, for he according to the nature of the humor, vvhich chiefely raineth in him, is cold, drie, and earthly, and therefore baſe and vile of courage, heauy, ſorovvful, miſerable and vaine, an enimye to all noble deuiſes and vvorthy enterpriſes, and ſo ſuperſtitious as thoſe vvhich haue beene of that complexion haue vvith their dreames, falſe

viſions and foolishe fantaſies, confounded all the religions of the vvorld. And beſides all this, the melancolique man is ſuperſtitious out of meaſure, and very enuie it ſelfe. For hee is a member of the frovvarde Planet *Saturnus*, vvhereof ſuche complexioned men are called *Saturnij*, vvhiche bee moſt abhorred of the Aſtrologers, in ſo muche as *Apolonius Tianeus* did not let to vvryte, that hee once founde in the Citie of *Epheſus* a melancolique manne, vvho vvith his preſence corrupted the vvhole Citie in ſuche ſort, as there grevve thereof a moſt terrible peſtilence: vvherfore ſuche complexioned men are farre vnmeete to bee of a

Princes

Princes counſell.

The meane ſtature in a counſeler is moſt laudable, that is to ſay, to be neyther to highe, nor yet to lovve, to fatte, nor yet to leane, for the long and leane man, and ſpeciallye if he haue therevvith a long neck, is vtterly condemned of the Phyloſophers, and iudged to bee ſome great lovvte and good for nothing Againe, to be ouer lovv, is as great a deformitie, for the lovve men bee they neuer ſo vviſe, yet the people vvill haue them in no reuerence at all, but ieaſt of them, and call them dvvarffes. And moſt commonly ſuch little men be alſo haſty, provvde, and preſumptuous: vvherefore it is good that the Stature.

Prince choſe for his counſelers men of a meane ſtature, and therevvith neyther to fatte, nor yet to leane. For the ouer fatte man bellyed lyke a barrell, and likewiſe the ouer leane mā shaped like a dried Congre, beſides gyuing vvyth their preſence cauſe of laughter, are thervvith ſildome ſeene to be ſeruiceable.

Proportion of body.

The body of a coũſeler ought to bee vvell proportioned, hauing all his partes and members aunſvverable one to another in due proportion, ſo as there be no lack nor ſuperfluitie in any part, as for example hys head maye not be to great, nor to ſmall for his bodye, or one ſhoulder hier than another, nor one arme longer than another, nor

nor he maye not by defect of nature be crooke backte, ſplaye footed, ſquynt eyde, or lacke an eye, an arme, a hande, a legge, or foote, or any other part, nor likevviſe haue more than hee ought to haue, for ſuch defects of the bodye as come not by miſſortune, but proceede eyther of the vvant or ſuperfluitie of nature, do betoken great imperfections of the minde, vvhich hath bene ſo much obſerued of the naturall Phyloſophers, as thys Prouerbe *Cauſæ aſignatis* did riſe thereof, and is obſerued of al men euen at this daye, in ſo much as no man almoſt vvyll take a common ſeruaunt vvith anye ſuche defect, hovve much more then ought

a Prince to bevvare hovve he chooſeth any ſuch to be of hys counſell.

Vyſage. A good viſage and comblye countenaunce is verye requiſite alſo in a counſeler. For that maketh him to bee both loued and reuerenced. His head therfore vvoulde be rounde and of meane bigneſſe, and hys face vvould be ſomevvhat long, rather than altogither round, and therevvith neyther to blovvghtye, nor yet to shrympe, his forhead vvould be high, large and playne vvithout any vvrincles, his eyes neither to great nor to little, but in a meane betvvixt both, and therevvith not heauye or dull, nor yet vvanton or often rolling to and fro, but quick,

quick, liuely, and ſteadie, hys noſe neyther to long nor to short, to great nor to ſmall, nor ouer flat, or turned vpvvard, but playne and ſmooth, and to bee ſomevvhat hooked is no euill grace, for it betokeneth vviſedome and ſtovvtneſſe of courage, his lippes vvould be neyther to thick nor to thinne, nor hang ouer lovve dovvnvvarde. And to be short, all the parts of his face vvould be ſo proportioned, as his countenaunce may bee alvvayes both graue and amiable. And thus vvee ende vvith the qualities of the body requiſite in a counſeler, vvherin vvee maye ſeeme perhappes to ſome folkes to be more curious than is needefull, thinking manye

nye of thoſe thinges that vvee haue ſpoken, to be but tryfles and thinges of ſmall vvaight, and yet ſuche tryfles are not to be paſſed ouer vvith ſilence: For truely vvhoſoeuer vvill treate of any matter abſolutely, muſt leaue nothing out, but muſt expreſſe euery little part. And vve daylie ſee that if any man bieth a houſe, hee vvyll not onely vevve the bevvtiful places therof, as Hall, Parlour, chambers, and ſuch lyke, but alſo all the houſes ofoffices, yea euen thoſe that are not meete to be named. Againe, if a Prince be deſirous to buye a horſe, hee vvill thorovvly vevve euerye parte and member of him, yea, and vvill not let to open his mouth vvith

his

his mouth, vvyth his ovvne handes, to ſee his teeth, and to knovve his age, hovve much more carefull then ought he to be in chooſing of his counſeler, into vvhoſe handes hee muſt commit both his goodes, hys lyfe, and his honor.

Of the Princes choyſe.

WE ſayde in the beginning, vvhen vve defined vvhat a counſeler vvas, that tvvo things in that definition vvere to bee conſidered, that is to ſaye, the ſufficientcy of the man, and the choyſe of the Prince, and that ſuche ſufficientcy did conſiſt in the qualities of the minde, and

in the qualities of the bodye, of both vvhich qualyties hauing hytherto ſufficientlye treated, vve minde therefore novve to ſpeake ſomevvhat of the Princes choyſe. Touching vvhich matter mine Author hath ſet foorth nine remembraunces or aduertiſementes to be obſerued by the Prince vvhen he choſeth a counſeler, vvhereof bicauſe ſome bee rather confirmations of thoſe that go before, than nevve precepts: And againe, bycauſe ſome are to be conſidered by the Prince before hee choſeth, and ſome to be obſerued after he hath choſen: I thought good therefore to reduce them into a leſſer number, and to make no more ſeuerall precepts

but

but ſixe, declaring thoſe firſt that are firſt to be conſidred, and then the others conſequentlye, vvherein though I ſhall ſomevvhat differ from mine Author in order, yet in matter nothing at all.

Firſt, then the Prince hath to conſider, that all the honor, and dishonour, fame, and infamye, profite and loſſe, preſeruation and deſtruction, as vvell of himſelfe, as of all his people, vvholy dependeth vppon the good or euill choyſe, of his counſelers, for if they be vvell choſen, the Prince is iudged as vvell of ſtraungers as of his ovvne ſubiectes to be vviſe and carefull of his common vvealth, and for that, they extoll him vvith infi- The firſt aduertiſement.

nite prayſes , and his ſubiectes are readye at all tymes to obey both him & his counſell, thinking themſelues to bee in great ſafetie, vvhilſte they are gouerned by ſuche vviſe counſelers, aſſuring themſelues that all things muſt needes proſper that they take in hande. But contrarivviſe if the counſelers be euill choſen,then they condemne the Prince of great follye, they bee vnquiet and alvvayes murmuring againſt the counſel,ſaying, that all vvyll come to naught. And if there be anye noyſe or likelyhood of vvarre, they trẽble and quake for feare , bicauſe they miſtruſt the vviſedome, manhoode, and pollicie of their gouernours,ſaying , that they

haue

haue not one man able to defende them, and if anye thing ſucceede vvell, contrarie to the peoples expectation, they impute it rather to chaunce, than to anye vviſedome or foreſight of the counſell: vvhereas on the other ſide, if the counſelers be vviſe men, the people cõceyueth ſuch an opinion of them, as they vvill not beleeue that they erre, vvhen they erre in deede, for vviſe men ſildome erre. VVherefore, ſith ſo many euils doe riſe of the euil choiſe, and ſo many good things of the good choyſe, the Prince therefore in mine opinion can not be to choyſe in his choyſe, and ſo let this ſuffice, for the firſt aduertiſement.

N.3. Secondly,

The ſecond aduertiſement.

Secondly, the Prince to the intent he may haue a plenty full choyſe of men meete to ſerue his turne · had neede not onely to conſider of ſuche as keepe in his Court, and be nigh about him: but alſo to ſeeke to be informed of ſo manye as hee can beſides, giuing charge and commiſsion to his Lieutenants and chiefe officers abroade in euery Sheere, to learne by diligent inquirie, vvhich men in their lymittes, be knovvne to be moſt ſufficient to ſuch purpoſe, and to ſende vp Kalenders of their names vnto the Prince, to the intent that hee maye ſende for ſuch as hee ſhall thinke good, pretending onlye to knovve them & to be acquainted vvith them

them himſelfe: appointing ſome reaſonable allovvance to beare their charges in iorneying to & fro. By this meanes the Prince shall haue choyſe of many, amongſt vvhom it is more likely to finde out ſome one excellent man, than amongſt a fevv. And beſides that, he shal vvinne great loue, and fame of his people, and encourage all eſtates, to endeuour themſelues, to get vviſdome and knovvledge, and to folovve ſuch vertuous exerciſes, as they may deſerue therby to be named and numbred amongſt thoſe, that are thought meete for ſuch purpoſe. And by this meanes alſo, the Prince shall knovve vvhat able men he hath vvithin his realme, of vvhat

vvhat skill they be, and vvherin they are moſt meete to ſerue hym, at any time that he shall haue neede to employe them. And though hee shall ſildome haue neede to choſe aboue one, or tvvo, to ſerue him as counſelers: yet he muſt shevv himſelfe courteous tovvards all the reſt, & praiſe their vvell doing, exhorting them to contynue ſtill therein, and therevvith put them in good hope of preferment in tyme to come, revvarding ſome vvith offices, ſome vvith fees, and ſome vvith money, and ſome he maye retaine in his Court, and diſcharge the reaſt, vſing himſelfe in ſuch ſort tovvardes them all, as they all may haue cauſe to bee ſatiſfied

and

and contented.

Thirdly, if the Prince bee a Lorde of dyuers countries and nations, I vvoulde not vvishe him to bee altogy ther vvedded vnto his ovvne natiue countrimen, but rather to chooſe ſome of euery one of thoſe countries to be of his counſell. For the Prince is a publique perſon, and therefore ought to be vvithout priuate affection and reſpect, or partialitie; yea he ought to bee a naturall father to all his true ſubiectes, of vvhat countrie ſoeuer they be, and ſtepfather to none, to vvhoſe counſell, if any of the ſubiects be vvronged or grieued, they haue onely to repaire for redreſſe. But if none of their ovvne countriemen be of

The thirde aduertiſement.

the counſell: hovv or vvhen I pray you ſhall they bee harde? for vvho knovveth theit cuſtomes, their humors, deſires, commodities, diſcommodities, gaynes, and loſſes ſo vvell as they? or vvho vvill be ſo ready to heare their cauſes, ſutes, and complaints as their ovvne coũtrymen, vvhich are forced by lavve of nature to loue them, and to tender them. Beſides this if the Prince ſhoulde haue no counſelers, but of hys ovvne countrymen, all the other coũtries vvould thinke that eyther hee did not eſteeme them, or counted them as ſlaues, or at the leaſt did not truſte them. VVherof the firſt vvould breed hatred in them tovvardes the

Prince

Prince and the counſell, the ſeconde vvoulde cauſe them to ſeeke libertie, and to make conſpiracies and rebellions, and the thirde vvoulde make them to become vnfaythfull, diſobedient, and obſtinate ſubiectes. VVherefore theſe things being vvell vvayed and conſidered, I beleeue the Prince ſhall finde it muche better to chooſe hys counſelers out of all ſuch domynions as are ſubiect vnto him, then out of one, or tvvo onely.

Fourrhly, the Prince maye not be to haſtie, but take good deliberation in making hys choyſe of ſuche men as are named vnto him, reſoluing vpon none of them all, vntill he hath

The fourth aduertiſement.

thorovvly tryed them, as vvell by report of the countrye from vvhence they come, as alſo by his ovvne examination. And firſt as touching the report of the countrie, it ſhall be neceſſarie for the Prince, as vvell to auoyde the fauourable, as ſlaunderous tales that maye be tolde hym, to giue euerye man leaue to accuſe the perſons vvhome he mindes to make his counſelers, *ſub pena talionis*, that is to ſay, that the accuſer ſhall ſuffer the payne or penaltie of the cryme, vvherof he accuſeth the partie, if hee can not duely prooue it. And the Prince on the other ſide muſt take ſuch order as the defendant may not hinder, or ſtop by his authoritye, povver,

or

or friendship, anye accuſation that may be made againſt him. And ſith all men are ſubiect to affects, the blinders of all truth: I vvoulde vvishe the Prince in theſe cauſes, before due tryall had, to giue no credit to the report of anye man, be he noble, or vnnoble, ſpiritual or temporall. By this meanes the Prince shall be ſure to haue none but good men to bee of his counſell, for the euill vvill not bee ouer haſtie in ſeeking aduancement by ſuche kinde of tryall. Truely the Romaines in olde tyme did verie ſtraightly execute this kinde of diſcypline in chooſing theyr Magiſtrates, vvhereby as theyr common vvealth greatly then florished:

ſo aftervvarde for lack thereof, it quickly decayed and came to naught. Novve as touching the Princes examination to bee made by hymſelfe, I ſaye by himſelfe, and not by his Deputie, he hath to examine vvhat ſufficientcie is in the perſon to be elected, by conſidering and meaſuring euery part of hym, both ſoule & body. To vvhich ende mine Author hath made and diſcribed vnto him heretofore tvvo apt meaſures to meaſure vvithall, the one of fiftene partes, & the other of fiue, that of fiftene partes ſerueth to meaſure the ſoule, and the other of fiue parts to meaſure the body. To vvhich meaſures thoughe very fevve are to he found, that

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are aunſvverable in euery condition : yet let thoſe that are more aunſvverable be alvvayes choſen before thoſe that be leſſe aunſvverable, and let thoſe that haue more giftes of the minde and leſſe of the body, be preferred before thoſe that haue more of the bodye, and leſſe of the minde. And if anye tvvo that ſtande to be elected, be equall in both giftes, and yet be not of like birth, povver, and authoritie, or if the Prince perhaps fauoreth the one more then the other vpon ſome affection, or for ſome ſeruice done, then it is good reaſon that ſuche perſon bee choſen before the other. VVherfore ſith ſuch things are to be conſidered, vvhen com-

pariſon is made, mee thinkes mine author ſhould haue done very orderly, to haue added alſo vnto his tvvo meaſures before deſcrybed. A thirde meaſure, briefly contayning ſome of the chiefe giftes of Fortune, as noble lynage, honors, ryches, fauoure of the Prince, and ſuche lyke. VVhich kinde of meaſure mine Author left out as I ſuppoſe, bicauſe hee thought that ſuch as vvere aunſvverable to the tvvo firſt meaſures, ought of duty to be promooted by the Prince to honours and lyuing, and that they deſerue to bee loued as vvel of the noble men, as to be honored of the common people. But ſith noble birth, is a gifte that hath beene alvvayes much

much esteemed, and that vvorthily, so long as the successors doe not degenerate from their Predicessors: And that suche giftes comes not immediately from the Prince, but requyreth contynuaunce of time, to bee perfite in his kinde: (for it is an olde saying, that the Prince may make a noble manne, but not a Gentle man): Also sich there be manye other giftes of Fortune vvhich man maye obtayne, vvithout the Prince: as honors gyuen by straunge Princes, ryches, goodlucke in anye thinge that he taketh in hande, be it in seruice of the Prince or othervvise, also friendship, loue and fauour, as vvell in straunge countries as in his ovvne, and

many such like; It had bene necessary, I say, to haue added also this third measure, to the intent that the Prince might haue a trinitie of measures to measure both the length, breadth, and depth of hys counseler. vvhiche three measures, if the Prince did rightly vse in making his choise, it shall vvell appere that he chooseth vvith Iudgement, and not for fauour, or vpon any vvyll or povver. For all offices, as thine author saith, are vvoont to bee giuen but three maner of vvayes, that is, eyther for the deserts & sufficiency of the receyuer, or for the fauour & affection of the Prince borne tovvards the partie, or else for that the Prince of his owne po-

vver

vver will haue it so: vvhere-
of the first belongeth to the iuſt
prince, and the other tvvo to the
vniuſt tirant. And truely he did
very vvel in saying, that offices
bee gyuen but three manner of
vvayes, for othervvise it might
haue beene obiected, that offi-
ces manye times doe passe by a
fourth vvaye, vvoorser than all
the resty and that is, by vvay of
sale for filthy lucre sake, vvher-
by for the moſt parte, iuſtice is
bought & sold, the Prince euill
serued, & the poore people pilde
and povvld. Thus then hauing
shevved hovvo the Prince
should choose no man to be of
hys counsell, before due tryall
had, and also hovve such tryall
is to be made, I leaue to speake

The firſt ad-
uertiſment.

anye further, touching this aduertiſement, the laſt of thoſe that are to be conſideted by the Prince, before he chooſeth any man to be of his counſell: for the other tvvo aduertiſements here followving, are to be put in execution after he hath choſen.

The fift aduertiſment.

Fiftly, then the Prince hauing made his choyſe in ſuche ſorte as is before taught, ſhall doe vvell vvithin tvvo or three dayes after, to call the nevve elect vnto hym, and in open preſence of his Court & houſholde, briefly to tell him hovv hee hath choſen him onely for his vertues and good deſertes, and vvhat credit both hee himſelfe and all his people hath in him, & vvhat ſhame it vvould be

be vnto him, if he shoulde not vvith his doings anſvvere both his and their expectation. That done, he muſt commende vnto him both the honor and profite of his ſtate, friendly requiring him, yea, and ſtraightlye charging him to admonishe hym, and vvith all due reuerence to correct him, vvhen hee ſeeth it needefull, and in anye vviſe to be playne vvith him, and to tell him the truth vvithout all flatterie or diſsimulation, bicauſe he vvas choſen chiefely for that purpoſe. For as it is not meete that euery man ſhould tell the Prince of his faults: ſo is it requiſite that ſome ſhould admonish him vvhen he erreth. For otherwiſe, Princes should be

in vvoorse case than all men, being vtterly destitute of faythfull friendes, vvhose office is to speake the truth, & to tell their friends friendly of their faultes at times conuenient, and not to flatter at any tyme. Neyther let the Prince bee vnvvylling to heare the truth modestly tolde, and in due tyme, at his counselers handes: Yea rather let him encourage him therevnto, though it be against the stomake, for othervvise he shall be ouervvhelmed vvith lies, and forged tales, and neuer heare the truth. Finallye, as the Prince must put him in feare of harde punishment, if he shal leaue to doe his duetie: so must hee lykevvise put him in hope of due revvard,

if

if he continue in his well doing. Wherby the Prince shall both winne to himselfe the prayse and loue of his people, and also make his newe chosen counseler, the more careful and diligent in his vocation.

That done, let him be solemnly sworne to be true and faythfull to the Prince, and to promise before God to be diligent and carefull in procuring the wealth, profite, and honour of hys Prince, and of the common wealth, and to deale truely and iustly with all estates, vsing indifferencie without corruptiō, swaruing from iustice at no time, either for meede or dreed, for loue or hate, for friende, or foe. Moreouer, neuer to haue priuie

The first admonitiſment.

priuie conferẽce vvith the Ambaſſadors or meſſengers of forreyne Princes, vvithout ſpeciall commiſsion from the Prince, nor to receyue revvarde, fee, or yerely pention, of any forraine Prince. For by ſuch meanes the princes ſecretes are many times reuealed, and the cauſes of forraine princes more fauoured, than the princes ovvne cauſes, or thoſe of the cõmon vvealth. The coũſeler being thus ſworne the prince shal beaſſured of him and may the better truſt hym. And if the counſeler shoulde chaunce to fayle in his dutye, after he hath taken his othe, the Prince maye the more iuſtly punish him as a contemphor of God & of his ſoueraine. Again,

the

the counſeler vvill be the more circũſpect in his doings, & the leſſe bolde to commit any treachery. Futthermore, by meanes of his oth he may the more ſafely & boldly denie the vnrightfull & vnreaſonable requeſts, of his parentes, kinſfolkes, friends, and ſeruaunts: yea, rather both they, and all others knovving him to be ſvvorne, vvill be afrayde to make anye ſute vnto him, that is not iuſt or reaſonable. And here endeth the ſixt and laſte aduertiſement, the vvhich togither vvith the other fiue before declared, doe comprehende the full effect of the nine aduertiſements or memorialles ſet foorth by myne Author.

The effect of my Authors Peroration or concluſion.

THus you haue heard vvhat a counſell is, and hovv the Prince that vvil gouerne vvell, ought to haue ſeauen counſels, differing one from another in offices, officers, and in authoritie. You haue heard alſo vvhat a counſeler is, and vvherein his ſufficientcy conſiſteth, that is to ſay, in hauing fifteene qualities of the minde, and fiue of the body. Finally, there haue bene declared vnto you certaine neceſſary aduertiſments to be obſerued by the Prince, vvhen he chooſeth his counſeler. And this

this is the ſomme and effect of all that mine Author thought meete to treate of in this his firſte of thoſe eyght Bookes, vvhich he hath promiſed to ſet foorth touching thys matter, vvho vvisheth that he had bene as able to frame ſuch a counſell in deede, as hee hath heare deſcrybed in vvryting, for then he vvoulde haue ſet foorth to the vvorlde a viſible example of the goodneſſe thereof, to bee ſeene and felt, rather than this imagined patterne, to be conſidered onely vvith the minde. And bicauſe he doubteth not but that ſome vvyll bee readye to finde faultes vvith this his vvorke: he briefely aunſvvereth to ſuch obiections as maye be layde a-

gainſt him. And firſt vvhereas it maye bee obiected, that it is not a meete thing for a Prince to take ſuch paine, and to trouble himſelfe in making ſo precyſe a choyſe. He aunſvvereth that it is no trouble or paine at all, in reſpect of the great eaſe, reſt, and quietneſſe, that he ſhall thereby purchaſe to hymſelfe, vvhen he ſhall haue to deale in great affayres, and matters of vvayte: be it eyther in time of peace or vvarre, for be they neuer ſo troublous or vvaytie of themſelues: yet to him hauing ſuch counſells and counſelers, they ſhall ſeeme very eaſie and light. Some againe vvill obiect that the Prince is free, & that he maye giue & diſpoſe his offices

as him pleaſeth beſt. VVhervnto mine author anſvvereth that the freedome or libertie of the Prince is no freedome, vvhen it paſſeth the bounds of reaſon, and that in preferring vvill before reaſon, he ought rather to be called a tyrant than a Prince. Thirdly, it may be ſayde, that it behoooueth Noble men & Gentlemen, to bee revvarded according to their birth and calling, vvhich mine Author denyeth not, and yet therevvith ſayth, that it is not al one thing to revvarde a noble man & to make him a counſeler, ſith there bee meanes ynough to revvard him vvythout that, vnleſſe he bee meete for it. Fourthly, it may be obiected, that there are no

ſuch counſelers as he hath deſcrybed, to bee founde in all the vvorlde. VVherevnto he aunſvvereth, that there are a number of good men and verie ſufficient in all conditions to bee had, if the Prince chooſe them for their vertue and deſerts, and not by his ovvne affection, fauour, or povver. And thoughe there were not, yet if the Prince vvould doe as he ought to doe, he might make men of ſtones. For to vvhat ſoeuer the Prince is giuen, be it to vice, or to vertue, all men vvill follovve the ſame. And therfore if the Prince delight in vviſe, learned, and vertuous counſelers, mine Author ſayth, that he dare aduenture his heade that a number of

Barrons

Barrons and Knightes in fevve yeres, vvoulde become moſt ſufficient counſelers. And for proofe thereof, vvisheth that ſome Prince vvoulde put theſe his preceptes in vre, not doubting, but that in ſo doing, hee should quickly ſee ſuch an alteration in his Courte, as thoſe that doe novv leavvdely ſpende their tyme in ydleneſſe, vayne paſtymes, and in vvantonneſſe of life, vvould giue themſelues to lavvdable exerciſes, and therby make the Court to become a ſchoole of vertue, and knovvledge. VVhich should be to the great honour of the Prince, to the profite of the common vvealth, and to the glorye of God, vvho giue grace to all Chriſtian

Of Counsells

Christian Princes, so to order their courtes, and to giue such ensample themselues, as the cō-mon people may learne therby, to liue in the feare of God, & to doe that vvhich is acceptable in his sight, and thus I ende thys treatise.

FINIS.